and considerations shaped through long and tragic years. She is hopeful that her experience may assist in establishing an Organization which can turn to profit the errors of the past and devise a lasting monument to the heroic sacrifices of the present generation. To that end she pledges her every effort and to that hope her undying allegiance.

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chair recognizes the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chairman of the Delegation of France.

MR. BIDAULT (speaking in French; translation follows): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On this day of victory when, for the first time, I have the honor and privilege of speaking to you on behalf of France, I shall not try to hide my feelings of deep emotion.

The collapse of Hitlerite Germany which we are now witnessing is for the United Nations as a whole--and especially for my country, which this power of prey has laid waste three times during the past 75 years--an event at once so long awaited and so profoundly dramatic that our minds are struck by the incredible force of such a lesson given to the spirit of violence and aggression.

As a man who only a few months ago was still being hounded down in his own country, then entirely occupied and savagely oppressed by a foe who today stands at bay, may I be allowed to include in one whole-hearted tribute all those who, humble or glorious, have worked for our common salvation: the heroic Soviet Army, whose standards bear so many resounding victories, from Stalingrad to Berlin; the valorous divisions of Great Britain and the Dominions, old and gallant comrades in our struggles; the magnificent American troops whose blood has been shed on our soil, so far from their own towns and countryside, for a cause which knows no distance, thus endearing to us still further the soil that received it and making more sacred still the harvest it has raised, and which is called freedom.

These armies, uniting their efforts, mingling their sacrifices, have taken the largest share of the common fight on the battlefields of Europe, after the tremendous initial shock of the assailant had, for the moment, knocked France out, while their American, British, and Chinese brothers-in-arms in other parts of the world were carry-

on a victorious struggle against the Japanese aggressor, likewise doomed to disaster.

With these victorious armies, according to the strictest justice, are associated the regiments of Free France, the soldiers of Bir Hakeim, Tunisia, Italy, Alsace, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and countless battles in every corner of the globe, including Indo-China. I also wish to pay tribute to all the fighting men of the United Nations, whose Belgian, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Norwegian, or Brazilian nationality was often distinguishable only by insignia bearing their country's colors on the sleeve of a common uniform; the intrepid patriots of Yugoslavia and Greece, and all those soldiers without uniform, the men who carried on the resistance in oppressed countries, my own comrades in France, all those who died mute under torture, all those who were deported to German concentration camps, my comrades, my brothers who in the temporary defeat fulfiled their duty as Frenchmen and as citizens of the world.

A few hours ago I was told of the return home of some of these men and women who carried on with us that terrible fight--that fight in which the enemy was everywhere and the front nowhere. May I salute them here, before the whole world, because we owe it to them and because no one should doubt that France continued unceasingly to do her utmost during the last phase of this thirty years' war which had already cost her 1,500,000 lives.

In spite of treachery, France was never out of the fight. There has not been one single day of the war on which Frenchmen have not fallen for the cause which is that of the United Nations. Under the leadership of the man who is the symbol of our honor and of our determination--General de Gaulle, who gave our country back her soul--Frenchmen have continued the struggle, both outside and inside France, sometimes empty-handed, not merely to insure the existence of France, but also that of a world in which lawless might should not have the last word.

Today, France is on her feet again. She is rebuilding her military and economic strength from day to day. She is once more taking her place, not only as a great moral power--which she never ceased to be--but also as a great power in fact. On behalf of 100 million men in the mother country and in the Empire--a community whose

unshakable strength was so plainly shown to the world in time of trial--I claim for France all her rights and all the responsibilities of a front-rank state.

I would add that France, because of her century-old traditions, cannot dissociate her own cause from a world cause of justice. She never fought for a cause which was not in keeping with the interests of humanity. France has come to this Conference with the determined purpose of bringing to the endeavor of all free peoples a contribution worthy of her age-old ideal and of her special world mission.

Mr. President, the particular position of France at the Conference has raised much comment. Some commentators thought they detected a somewhat negative attitude, some ulterior motive, or some show of ill-humor. This position is simply due to our desire to be honest with ourselves and with those who place their trust in us. Faced with decisions with which we had not been associated, and some of which we knew nothing about, we had to decline the offer made to us that we should recommend a system on which we were not fully informed; but this in no way signifies that at this Conference we do not mean to play our due part thoroughly, or that,we intend to renounce the rank which is ours and which, I repeat, the misfortunes of yesterday have not prompted us to give up today.

So we have come together on the shores of this tremendous ocean. May its name be of good omen for the future of our peoples and for the peace of the world.

Is it not like a sign of fate that we have come here to the town of Saint Francis, that kindly man of peace? In this town where our flags fly side by side in token of the spontaneous and generous welcome extended to us, we are undertaking our task side by side with many peoples of the globe assembled together, but not yet all those we should like to see here. I would make special mention of war-torn Europe, and particularly heroic Poland who for centuries has been our friend.

And alas! we shall not see the man who was to preside over our meeting. We arrived here on the morrow of a great catastrophe, a great bereavement for the American Nation and for all the United Nations, especially France--after the death of that great world citizen, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. After all who preceded me on this platform--and I shall certainly not be the last--I wish to voice the gratitude that all who believe in the future of mankind owe to him who, among the leaders of the peoples, was the herald of great causes and essential freedoms.

World-wide mourning plainly showed how great was the loss. The admiration and affection of our peoples are with him forever in the grave where he was buried with the simplicity which is a sign of greatness. The torch he carried to the end has been grasped by faithful hands. I want to say on France's behalf that, as regards any matters of importance to the United Nations, from now on we turn with full confidence to President Truman as the leader of a great people to which we are linked by friendly memories of a mutual aid which, in times of trial, has never failed.

Gentlemen, the task of the delegation chairmen who come to this platform at the start of the Conference's work is to outline the principles which inspire them--principles which, so far as the general organization of the world is concerned, represent the views of their governments and countries.

I read something about the French standpoint being a mystery. It is a mystery that is not mysterious. We informed all the United Nations in good time as to the amendments which, in our opinion and very likely in other people's too, seemed to be a necessary improvement on the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

In what spirit did we study this plan? To put it briefly, we studied it in our traditional spirit, the spirit which, during the period between the two wars, led us to propose so many plans with a view to establishing and perfecting the organization outlined in 1919. As long as there is a France, France will never tire of directing her best thoughts toward the establishment of an international statute which would bring about harmony among the peoples and banish war forever.

In the Dumbarton Oaks plan we found so many features that were familiar to us that we naturally regarded it with a certain fatherly affection. That does not mean that we do not think it possible to improve on it or to add to it as regards certain items. I must say first that we are not amongst those to whom collective security seems a dream, and in any case, I think it is dangerous to disdain the dreams of man.

But in my country, as a result of war, there is not a single home which has not suffered in all it holds most dear. And from all these homes, from all these people, the Delegation whose Chairman I have the honor to be has received an urgent appeal to see to it that the Organization

we are to set up constitutes a real defense of peace.

To conciliate the demands of this ideal with the possibilities of reality is the first principle by which we want to abide.

We therefore mean to examine the proposed solutions with a rigor and an insistence in conformity with the trials we have undergone and the risks we have run.

With the destruction of Nazi might, we likewise mean to put an end to the practice of unilateral interpretation of treaties, and insist on respect for international law which must be observed now more than ever, following this period of mental confusion when right was flouted every day.

Justice is another word we must reinstate in all its loftiness--justice in keeping with international democracy, that is to say, justice which gives full recognition to the rights of all countries, including those which do not come under the generally recognized term of great powers--a point I would particularly stress.

I am not convinced that every possible consideration has been given to the nations called the small powers--I do not know why they are called small, for it may happen that they are not, either by their past or by their population, or by the ideal they mean to serve. In any case, it is a fact that the proposals made at the Conference allow for a dominant share to be granted to the great powers, of which, I again repeat, France is one.

This privilege was decided upon in our absence. What was called the veto of the great powers is certainly not in keeping with the legal ideal which, we do not despair, will some day be established by common accord between peoples.

But we know what the world of today is, we know that apart from outside appearances, there is the question of what means a given state could bring to bear on the battlefield if and when all other resources have failed.

That is why the French Government will not initiate anything which might result in complicating action decided in common by the great powers concerned.

For the moment we shall raise no definite objection to this point in the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

Indeed, we believe it is indispensable that good understanding between the five great powers should be maintained and developed in continued and close friendship between all

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the nations assembled here. The material means of serving peace are largely in their hands. What public opinion in all countries, great or small, is confidently awaiting, is the assurance of their agreement on all world problems.

If this agreement between the great powers is ever broken off, then may God have pity on us all! I say this with the sharpened perceptions of the representative of a people rising from the abyss, with an instinct which makes up for lack of information--for we have been kept outside so many arrangements contemplated by this or that country.

It seems to me, Gentlemen--and I almost feel like apologizing for this recommendation, but we know what is at stake--it seems to me that it is the duty of each one of us to help with all our strength in this understanding between the big Allied Powers, not only because it will constitute the fortifications able to protect peace but because we shall have to build a world in which the germs of future conflict will be eliminated--a world protected by these fortifications.

What must obviously be achieved is an economic charter regulating in particular the distribution of raw materials, a social organization in which labor questions on an international basis, with a view to reaching the best solutions, would benefit by very much greater and wider opportunities than those offered in most cases within a national framework.

Failing this, a perpetually armed world would have to keep endless vigil in perpetual torment--an exhausting watch which finally leads the sentry to shoot at his own shadow.

In addition to the economic and social keystones, the international edifice needs another support. We were pleased to see that the question of intellectual cooperation, which France was the first to put forward, has been taken up by China and many of the Latin American and Mediterranean states. Faithful to her mission and to her traditional support of the predominance of the mind, France will advance suggestions to the Conference with a view to maintaining and reorganizing the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

First of all we must provide for essentials, and reduce the problems to their simplest terms.

Above all, nations must feel confident and, to that end it is essential that we should clearly understand what constitutes for each country the conditions of its own security. Not to have a correct appreciation of the security needs of the United States, the Soviet Union, the British Empire,

or other nations would lead us to misjudge the policies of each.

It is also necessary that our own conception of security should be understood. This conception is, moreover, applicable to the whole of what may be called the danger zones, since we are geographically placed in the immediate vicinity of one of the most dangerous.

Our expressed determination to procure the necessary guaranties for our eastern frontier, the conclusion by the French Government of a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Government, our declared intention to conclude similar treaties with other powers as occasion arises, and finally our whole-hearted adherence to the principles of collective security--all these elements are not only compatible but they complete each other. Each contributes its share to the construction of an efficient security system. They might be compared to three ramparts of a fortress. Never would anyone in ancient times have thought of requiring the dismantling of one rampart on the pretext that it weakened the other two. On the contrary, if the inhabitants of the inner fortress were reassured by the fact that there were three stone walls between themselves and an eventual enemy, the defenders of each of these walls were encouraged in their turn by the existence of two other lines of defense. We think that this is a question of common sense, and that the International Organization of tomorrow will be aided and not hampered if those countries which are most threatened do their utmost to protect themselves by their own means, and if those which feel threatened by the same perils come to an agreement to protect themselves against those perils.

We are speaking here as people who know to their cost that, to discourage any future attempt at aggression, we must bridge the gap between the lightning rapidity of aggression and the inevitable slowness of consultation. Such is the purport of one of the amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan suggested by us.

That being said, we are ready, for the good of a new world, to make such sacrifices of sovereignty as may be agreed to in common and mutually recognized as necessary to collective security. We are prepared to go as far along this road as our partners in the general Organization.

But, I repeat, nothing could be more deadly than to build in uncertainty a castle of texts which did not correspond to reality.

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We must see to it that the peoples' expectations are not in vain. Millions of men, women, and children have perished because the formulas of security in which the world put its trust failed in their object.

We have not the right to hold their sacrifices so cheap, either by turning our eyes from the summits at which they aimed or by compromising the peace of this flesh-and-blood world for which they died.

The widows and mothers of the United States - and I say the United States because we are today in their midst and because the same thought, the same sorrowful pride, the same hope unite them to our own mothers and widows at home, from the Urals to Scotland and from China to Australia - the widows and mothers of the United States expect that the salvation announced to men of good will whom we represent here will not be just a reprieve.

It has been said that this is our last chance. Perhaps not, for Providence has endless resources. But whether it be the last or not, it would be criminal not to grasp it, not to tend it carefully so that hope will blossom forth.

What would we look like, what reply could we make, if, upon returning home, processions of our heroes, martyrs, and innocents were to ask us: "What have you made of our victory, our sacrifice, our future?"

California, where the blessings of Heaven and the riches of earth combine to make it a Promised Land, inspires an act of faith and of reason.

That the great Republic of the United States has taken the lead in this discussion on world affairs from which she kept apart 25 years ago, is undoubtedly one of the most tangible, comforting, and valid reasons for hope.

On the bridges of the Rhine, the frontier of France, the men of the Revolution inscribed these words which still live today: "Here begins the Land of Liberty". We profoundly hope that throughout the universe redeemed by so much suffering and so much courage, the realm of freedom, democracy, and right will extend from now on to all lands where, with the new wind which is rising, peaceable men will seek to live.

Confident of her renewed strength, confident in the promises of the future, sure of herself to the point of being the first nation to restore the normal play of democratic institutions by free and orderly elections so soon after such trials, France will wholeheartedly devote herself to the great task of guaranteeing to the world the security of all and the rights of each.

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, before introducing the next speaker, I wish to introduce to you some very special guests we have with us this afternoon, some American soldiers, many of whom have been wounded at the front. These boys have come to us from nearby hospitals to be present with us this afternoon. They are sitting in the back of the auditorium, and I am going to ask each of them to arise at this time. Boys. (The entire audience stood and applauded the soldiers.)

The Chair now recognizes the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of Guatemala.

MR. TORIELLO (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows:) Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: We cannot allow clouds of anxiety to obscure the horizon on which all humanity has placed its hopes and most fervent desires. The anguish in our hearts is now vanishing. The terrible shadows must disappear at this Conference in which the United Nations have assembled to construct a better world. It must be thus; otherwise there would be disastrous failure and the verdict of history would be against us. The admirable cooperation of all, and especially the sincere desire for harmony of the sponsoring nations in arriving at the solution of the most difficult problems, will determine the positive success of this most important Conference. They must demonstrate that the same spirit which united them in the battle against those who aspired to the subjugation of the world will continue to unite them now that victory is dawning, in the arduous task of constructing a new world where aggression, tyranny, fear, and misery are no longer possible, a world propitious for peace, justice, and the security of all.

If the powers of evil had triumphed in this war, the forces of violence would have prevailed over the forces of justice and right. Fortunately such was not the case. For this reason the small nations of the world have a profound faith in the juridical organization which this Conference will give to the five continents, since law and the moral force of justice are the only security and strength of small nations.

Guatemala fervently desires that, in the future, rather than depending on armed force the security of nations be based on a world organization, such as that envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, an organization which will have sufficient power to check, in an effective manner, any act of aggression. As a peace-loving nation, confident that peace will be obtained and maintained, Guatemala has faith and the conviction that this time humanity will not forfeit its opportunity--perhaps the last which will

Sovereignty of states. It does not seem superfluous to us to add here that international law cannot remain static, no more than civil or penal law. It must be capable of adapting itself to the changing conditions of life of the peoples of the world. The nationalism of former days, when states could remain isolated within their own frontiers, cannot belong to our modern times of rapid communications by air.

The concept of the sovereignty of the state may thus no longer be an inviolable principle. We must, however, insist that it is not only the small nations who would then be called upon to accept the necessary sacrifices. The peace and security of the international community depend upon concessions on the part of all powers whatever they may be and whatever may be the rights of some of them to recognition from others.

To return Gentlemen, to the Proposals of Dumbarton Oaks, the Haitian Government considers it a good and useful innovation, on the part of those who prepared it, to have introduced in Chapter II a statement of the principles which must serve as foundations for the International Organization and should determine its functioning and development.

My Government believes nevertheless that this statement of principle, in order to be complete and to produce better results, should take into consideration both the intentions and principles constantly reaffirmed at international conferences and whatever experience is gained from facts. The latter shows us, for example, that the actual world conflict arose, not only from economic causes, but also derived much of its cruel intensity from psychological disturbances that were created by racial and religious discrimination in the political doctrines against which the United Nations are fighting in their desire to remain faithful to the democratic ideals of freedom and human dignity.

Facts postulate for states as well as individuals new and more precise legal and political guarantees. This is why the Government of the Republic of Haiti believes that, together with the fundamental principle of equality between peace-loving states, as mentioned in Chapter 2 of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, it is also necessary to express there the principle of racial and religious non-discrimination in relations between peoples.

But the principles, Gentlemen, as well as the machinery of an International Organization, no matter how reasonable or strong they may be, do not suffice. It is with deep satisfaction that we heard last Saturday the representatives of Iran, Lebanon, and Uruguay speak of the absolute necessity, in the world of tomorrow, of intellectual collaboration between all states.

We now touch upon a problem that my Government considers of primary importance to insure peace and future security. If the warlike traditions of certain peoples and their unhealthy instinct to steal the nests of others restrain them from freely submitting to an international order based on justice and equality between

Second, that while the special responsibilities that devolve upon the great powers entitle them to greater authority in certain matters, yet every nation, great or small, should feel that the general principle of equality of all states in the new world Organization is recognized and that it will be observed in practice.

To achieve this, it is necessary not only to increase the number of states represented on the Security Council but to have due regard for fair regional representation. In this way all states will have an opportunity to share in the responsibility as well as in the task of settling disputes and preventing war.

Third, that the nature and extent of the duties and obligations that are to be incumbent upon all states should be clearly laid down, and should be such that they can in practice be properly carried out by the states themselves, or if necessary enforced.

Fourth, that the composition and procedure of the Security Council should be of such a nature as will insure a prompt and just settlement of disputes between nations. Any elaborate machinery which would tend to delay the taking of prompt decisions and effective action might result in stultifying the whole value of the award and the measures taken to enforce it. Disaster might quite possibly follow from belated action.

Fifth, that the general assembly should have jurisdiction over any dispute between nations which is likely to lead to armed conflict and which the Security Council has failed to settle either on account of disagreement between the permanent members, or for any other reason. In such cases, it should be the duty of the Secretary General immediately to convene a meeting of the General Assembly to consider the dispute in question and the decision of the Assembly carried by a two-thirds majority should be enforced.

In conclusion, I salute the future peace of the world, which is in your hands.

MR. STETTINIUS: Fellow Delegates, before introducing our next speakers, I wish to announce that the plenary session as scheduled this evening for 8:30 will be held. I also wish to announce that a plenary session will be called for tomorrow afternoon at 3:30. Dr. Soong will preside this evening at the plenary session commencing at 8:30, and Mr. Molotov will preside tomorrow afternoon, commencing at 3:30.

We have two remaining speakers this afternoon, which concludes our program. First, the Chair recognizes the Vice President and the Chairman of the Delegation of Liberia, and he will be immediately followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of Turkey.

The Chair now calls upon the representative of Liberia.

MR. SIMPSON: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: This opportunity to address the plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization is indeed a great privilege.

On behalf of the Liberian Delegation, I desire to say that we associate ourselves with other delegations in paying tribute to the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose foresight was chiefly responsible for the convening of this historic Conference in this delightful city of San Francisco.

The death of this great humanitarian and liberal is a severe loss not only to his country, but to all nations regardless of their size or potentiality.

I should like to observe that the Liberian Delegation cannot but have mingled feelings on an occasion such as this. Speakers who have ascended this tribune have had occasion to refer to the brutal warfare and carnage which their countries have undergone over a number of years. I allude in particular to the representatives of China, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippine Commonwealth, Yugoslavia. Ethiopia also has had her baptism of war.

Superior forces invaded, raped, and conquered their countries--our hearts and hopes went out for them, and we still have a feeling of the agony which they underwent and must still endure. But we now rejoice that ultimately their liberation has come and that meanwhile their souls still remained unconquered.

It is indeed a truism that might may at times seem greater than right, but in the final analysis right and justice must and will prevail. Mr. President, I cannot refrain from making an especial reference to the heroic struggle which China for eight long years has made for survival and the maintenance of world peace. Some day recorded history will correctly appraise the indomitable character of the Chinese people.

To Soviet Russia we are indebted for the victories of her mighty armies in Europe, and particularly the epic struggle at Stalingrad, which will ever remain fresh in memory.

To the Delegation of the United Kingdom may I observe that great praise and credit are due to your Government and people for your gallant struggle during the dark days of the war--I refer to the battle of Britain--when hope seemed lost, and a democratic world was then hanging in fateful balances. It was then that His Majesty's Government and the people of London were determined and resolved that Britons would never, never be slaves.

of every kind and upholding as a doctrine the pursuit of peace both within and without the national frontiers. And the Turkish Republic, inspired by the principles that guided this Pact that is founded on a broad and generous national ideal, has thus followed, in its national and foreign policy, a clear and straight forward course.

It is in the same spirit that the Turkish Government heartily endorsed the activity of the League of Nations, including the application of sanctions and the Nyon agreements.

Confronted by the bankruptcy of collective security, my Government resolutely aligned itself with the peace-loving nations, even before the beginning of the present conflict.

This summary stresses clearly the parallel that exists between the fundamental principles of Turkish foreign policy and the essential Proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks.

The Turkish Delegation has thus come to the San Francisco Conference in order to bring its modest contribution to the rebuilding of a world where right and justice would prevail over any other considerations, a world whose evolution through the years to come would bring it ever closer to the ideal in whose name we are here gathered together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, all mankind is grateful to the great Allied nations for their glorious effort, which has been the determining and decisive factor in the defeat of Fascist and Nazi imperialism. A few moments ago, I stressed my belief that it would be right to entrust great powers to them proportionate indeed to the heavy responsibilities that they will assume toward each other and toward other powers in order to prevent any attempt at aggression in the future. We are sure that the spirit and the ideal that inspired their magnificent struggle will likewise determine useful decisions in the organization of future international security to which they will contribute all the material elements, and especially the moral ones too, that such an undertaking demands. I said, "moral elements". And I certainly appreciate the great value and sure effectiveness of an international force offered to implement right and justice and thus prevent aggression. But I attach as great a price to the organization of an equitable world in which the rights of each would be guaranteed under the auspices of justice in such a manner that respect for the new world Organization would

be founded, not so much on fear of having to submit to sanctions as on the value unanimously granted to the abolute reign of a law that is equal for all as well as to a system that would guarantee this law.

The Turkish Delegation is perfectly aware of the immense difficulties that the United Nations will have to overcome in order to achieve the result for which we all hope. But it knows also that peace, as we conceive it, can come only as the fruit of long labors and infinite patience. All untimely haste can lead us only to dangerous and nefarious improvisations. The four great powers have succeeded in establishing, at Dumbarton Oaks, the foundations of the future Security Organization. This project, which is but a beginning, perhaps still reveals many imperfections and insufficiencies. But, these, in my opinion, are mere initial lacks that experience and the restoration of the unanimous and unreserved confidence of the peoples of the world in the new Organization would in time complement. And this fact does not weaken the unquestionable value of the document submitted to our scrutiny and discussion.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the high moral tenor of the many speeches uttered since the beginning of our deliberations by the honorable chairmen of the delegations of the United Nations has clearly demonstrated that this assembly is moved by a noble spirit of cooperation. The Turkish Delegation is happy to observe this gratifying expression of solidarity. And as long as this admirable unity is maintained, and it shall be maintained, we have no right to doubt of either the success of this conference or the beneficent effectiveness of the new Organization that we have been summoned to establish, nor, above all, of the great services that it can render, by its very existence, to humanity.

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, that brings to a close the Sixth Plenary Session. We will adjourn and meet again at 8:30 in this room tonight. Thank you.